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“FREEDOM  
IS THE  
EXCEPTION”



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**Three Lectures on the  
Values of the Open Society**

By Assistant Director William C. Sullivan,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

*Given at*  
**HARVARD UNIVERSITY**  
Graduate School of Business Administration  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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**Values of the Open Society**

By Assistant Director William C. Sullivan,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Published by West Publishing Company as a  
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*Given at*  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
Graduate School of Business Administration  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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## PREFACE

*This Committee shall study, make report and recommendations, plan and give effect to programs of education on communist tactics, strategy and objectives and encourage and support our schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction on the contrast between communism and liberty under law.*

[ABA By-laws, Article X, Sec. 7: (1); (2)]

The American Bar Association's House of Delegates in August 1962 unanimously adopted the above amendment to its By-laws establishing this Standing Committee. Under this mandate the Committee has undertaken three primary projects:

- (1) A program of Bar Activities to encourage and support state, county and local bar associations to undertake meaningful activities on the local community level paralleling our Committee's activities on the national scene;
  - (2) A Teacher Training Institute project encouraging and supporting schools and colleges in the conduct of summer institutes for the training of secondary school teachers who have the classroom responsibility of instructing our nation's youth on the contrast between communism and liberty under law;
  - (3) A Continuing Research Project on Communist Strategy and Tactics in consultation with individual authorities of various graduate centers of study specializing in the field of contemporary communist tactics, strategy and objectives.
- In the continuing struggle of the free society against the trained propagandists of communist totalitarianism it has often been stated that the battlefield is the "minds of men." The American citizen must understand the communist ideological thrust and also know the profound dynamic principles of liberty, if he is to effectively participate in this struggle. Mr. Sullivan's mature analysis should bring added strength and knowledge to those who desire to carry forth the truths and hopes of western civilization. His argument is lucid and specifically related to the American scene.

FREEDOM IS THE EXCEPTION

In his lecture "Communism and Capitalism," Mr. Sullivan reviews basic Marxist concepts and communist policies in the United States. Most important, he spells out the affirmative message of the free enterprise system. This is essential background material in view of the USSR's agonizing convolutions with its internal economic problems and the relevancy of incentives and profit systems.

In his lecture on labor, Mr. Sullivan traces the history of American labor's grim struggle with the communists who would, if they could, subvert the free trade union movement.

In his remarks on freedom, Mr. Sullivan emphasizes the dynamism of America. His brilliant insights serve to remind us of our ability and individual responsibility to meet the challenge to free men everywhere.

Mr. Sullivan is an Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, having joined that organization in 1941. Since that time, in various capacities, he has served throughout the United States; he also served during World War II on highly confidential assignments outside this country. Mr. Sullivan has lectured at the Department of State and other Executive agencies: the United States Military Academy; the United States Naval Academy; the United States Air Force Academy; National War College; Industrial College of the Armed Forces; Army War College; and other national defense institutions. He is known nation-wide as a guest lecturer at such institutions of higher learning as the University of Virginia Law School, Harvard University Law School, Princeton University, University of Notre Dame, Southern Methodist University, Shaw University, Yale University, Oregon University, University of California, University of Colorado, and other colleges and universities throughout this country. Mr. Sullivan, in addition, is a Research Associate in the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University.

We consider him particularly qualified, both theoretically and practically, to discuss the complexities of the communist challenge to our American principles of human dignity, individual freedom and the rule of law.

This pamphlet is informational and is not intended as a policy statement of the American Bar Association. We urge leaders of

MEMBERS

## **Standing Committee on Education Against Communism**

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In terms of propaganda, the enemies of America are by far our superiors as they concentrate great sums of money, time and resources toward a picture of sweetness and light out of the most monstrous tyranny in the history of civilization.

the organized Bar, teachers, and civic leaders to acquaint themselves with the facts and interpretations expressed herein.

We have referred to the struggle for the hearts and minds of men, but such battles of ideology and propaganda must be waged if they are to be won, with sophistication. So far America has not matched the communists in manpower and funds in effectively transmitting our own values of a free and open society.

This gap in the ideological race has been frequently emphasized. Recently the new President of the Public Relations Society of America, Mr. Ovid R. Davis, who is Vice President of the Coca-Cola Company, speaking to the World Congress on Public Relations, in Montreal, said:

December, 1964

**Standing Committee on Education  
Against Communism**

**INTRODUCTION**

**STAFF**  
 Boudinot P. Atterbury ..... *Consulting Counsel*  
 Frank R. Barnett ..... *Consulting Program Manager*  
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 Dorothy E. Nicolosi ..... *Research Assistant*

Our Public Relations teaching program at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration is in its sixteenth year. Since its inception, its unvarying theme has been "Business Responsibility within a Responsible Society." Basically, we expose the students to the best thinking available in the field of "Communicating Ideas with Conviction," which is really an abbreviated definition of Public Relations.

Each year many of the pioneers in this area of human endeavor are "guest conductors" of a seminar. They expose the young executives-to-be, who will be the business statesmen of the early decades of the 21st Century, to their own experiences in the transmission of ideas with conviction—not merely selling. The results of these seminars have been phenomenal and to all of our guests we owe a great debt of gratitude for taking the time and energy to pass along their own discoveries to the oncoming generation of business leaders.

The dissemination of the belief in Marxism-Leninism and a blind adherence to the tenets of modern atheistic dictatorial communism is one of the most startling developments of the past fifty years. More people have been exposed to this dogma during this period of time than the combined Moslem, Jewish and Christian populations of the world. No mass movement of ideas has ever been launched on such a grandiose organizational scale in a systematic effort to capture the minds of so many people.

Much of the time while this evangelistic effort has been rampant, the true believers in freedom for man, and in his right to think and let think, have been inarticulate and seemingly confused and baffled by the rising tide of arguments against the things they know to be true. Organized business is in the first line of attack from the menacing horde of misbeliefs, yet often the businessman seems at a loss to understand what is happening. This is largely due, we believe, to the fact that he lacks both information and techniques on how to communicate belief in freedom and liberty under law.

As a member of committees of the American Bar Association having to do with communism, I became acquainted with Mr. William C. Sullivan, Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau

of Investigation. I found that he not only knew the boundaries of the evil web of communism, but had the inherent ability and personality to convey to others both a recognition of the menace of communism and a dynamic faith in freedom, both material and spiritual. Mr. Sullivan's emphasis is on a sane, creative, constructive, positive approach to overcoming communism by removing its causes and by enlarging and strengthening the values of an open, free society.

His theme so fitted in with our program of recognizing that, concurrent with the "Bill of Rights" of capitalism, there is a corresponding "Bill of Duties" inscribed in the true patriot's heart and mind, that I asked FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover if he would designate Mr. Sullivan to lecture for us. Mr. Hoover, ever willing to render a public service, agreed.

The results of a seminar cannot be judged until several months after it is conducted. As the late Dean Roscoe Pound pointed out, a seminar is a seedbed for ideas, and we had to wait to see what percentage of the seeds germinated. Mr. Sullivan's first seminar on "Communism and Capitalism" was conducted on January 9, 1962, and, at the end of the term in May, reverberations of it were still continuing in ever-widening circles among the student groups. The aim of all education is to encourage the student to think, and Mr. Sullivan's provocative remarks and agile exchange of answers to students' questions more than accomplished this purpose.

The results of Mr. Sullivan's appearance were so outstanding that we invited him to appear again before the following year's seminar group. When he came on February 5, 1963, we had, in addition to regular seminar members, guests who were members of the Trade Union Program of the Harvard Business School. These men are active leaders in trade unions, here and abroad. On this occasion, Mr. Sullivan approached the subject with the theme, "Communism and Labor," and again the results were crystal clear. For weeks after the session, students and Trade Union guests alike came to me, saying: "Mr. Sullivan made communism a reality to be understood and opposed calmly and rationally. May we have a copy of his remarks to re-read?"

On May 5, 1964, Mr. Sullivan made an appearance before a third seminar group with "Communism and Freedom" as his theme. For the third time, the seminar sparked as though its

members had seen a new world, one in which freedom under law might be possible for all mankind if each member was willing to accept the responsibility of citizenship within a responsible society.

The American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism, having been aware of Mr. Sullivan's three presentations and their effect in stimulating thought on the matter of communism rather than merely generating emotional disapproval of it, asked Mr. Sullivan to prepare statements based upon his appearances. These three documents are herein published by the Committee for distribution to, among others, students in other places of higher learning.

We are delighted that this has been done and, personally, I am proud to add this brief recapitulation of what happened during an experiment in "Communicating Ideas With Conviction."

RAYMOND W. MILLER, Visiting Lecturer  
Harvard University, Graduate School of  
Business Administration

June 30, 1964

\*

## **COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM**

### **Communism's Belief of Inevitability**

Implicit in all communist propaganda is the theme that communism will eventually triumph the world over. Communism is portrayed as "the wave of the future" and as having history and time on its side. By projecting this belief and this confidence, communist propagandists endeavor to create the image that communism is all-powerful and all-embracing, and is rapidly becoming the dominant force throughout the universe. Communist propaganda, explains J. Edgar Hoover, depicts "peace, social progress, and economic prosperity as characteristic of the communist world and claims that these make communist nations invincible."

"Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," a manual of international communism recently published in Moscow, boasts that Marxism has "turned communism from a utopia into a science, while the merging of scientific communism with the growing working-class movement created that irresistible force which is moving society to the next stage of social progress, from capitalism to communism."

### **Communist Concept of Social Evolution**

Communists maintain that the entire world will sooner or later arrive at communism, since this is an objective law of social development. The victory of communism, it is claimed, will be the result of the inexorable historical process of the development of society and will take place with the same inevitability with which capitalism in its time replaced the outmoded feudal society.

In the communist view of history, the first phase was the primitive-communal society. In it, the means of production consisted of clubs and similar weapons and tools. Members of this society were forced to band together for subsistence and protection because of the low level of development of the means of production. At this stage, common ownership of the means of production prevented any exploitation of man by man.

Man gradually learned to forge metals and manufacture tools, such as axes, shovels, and plows. Agriculture and various handi-

crafts became specialized skills. To some degree, labor became specialized. Through barter and trade, private ownership of the means of production emerged.

The early primitive-communal system evolved into the next higher step—slavery. This system was characterized by private ownership not only of the means of production but also of the workers, or slaves, themselves. One segment of society, the slaveowners, completely dominated the other, the slaves, and thus divided society into two antagonistic classes. Internal contradictions and conflicts finally weakened and terminated the slave society.

The third stage that developed was the feudal system. According to communist theory, the class struggle in the feudal system was more intense than it had been in the slave society. Moreover, the advances brought about by the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries led to the establishment of large manufacturing plants based on craft techniques and created a new class. This class was the bourgeoisie which operated the new factories—the new means of production. The resulting struggle between the feudal lords and the rapidly growing bourgeoisie, with whom were allied the workers and the serfs who had gained their freedom from serfdom, precipitated the change from feudalism to capitalism.

Capitalism is seen by communists as the fourth stage in history. Under this phase, the pattern for relations between classes in society allegedly is also determined by the method of production. The owners of the means of production, the capitalist class (bourgeoisie), exploit the wage earners (proletariat). Because the latter group does not own the means of production, it has only its labor power to sell.

The fifth phase in the historical development of society is communism. In the process of reaching this final stage, however, communists claim that it is necessary to pass through a lower phase—that of state socialism. In this stage, communists assert, man will be guided by the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." This is supposed to be the phase of development that has been attained in the Soviet Union at the present time.

According to communists, when the stage of communism is reached, the means of production will be owned by all the people,

and the exploitation of man by his fellow man will have ended. Since there will be no private ownership of the means of production, there will be a classless society. In it, all forms of the state will have become unnecessary and will have withered away.

#### Communist Principle of Class Struggle

The entire communist concept of history is related directly to the idea of class struggle enunciated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who formulated the basic communist doctrines. The history of civilization, to them, is the history of ceaseless conflict between classes, and it is this class warfare which produces change.

In the communist view of capitalism, the main conflict is one between the capitalist class and the working class. With the development of capitalism, it is contended, the industrial structure of capitalist countries becomes concentrated more and more into fewer and fewer hands. Thus, the owning class, with the passage of time, diminishes in numbers, while the few big capitalists become increasingly powerful.

Conversely, the workers, with the development of capitalism, grow in numbers. Exploited by the owning class, they are able to buy back with their wages only a part of the fruits of their labor. Due to this and other built-in deficiencies of the capitalist system, according to communists, periodic depressions, recessions, and other economic crises which cannot be rectified or eliminated erupt.

#### Alleged Contradictions of Capitalism

Communists insist that there are certain definite inherent contradictions or conflicting forces within the capitalist system, namely: (1) the ceaseless struggle between capital and labor; (2) the ceaseless struggle between the powerful financial groups and imperialistic interests, which dominate various capitalist nations, in their greedy competition for raw materials, markets, favorable locations, and profits; and (3) the ceaseless struggle between the rich, industrialized, progressive nations of the world and the poor, backward, underdeveloped countries.

As imperialism—the highest, the most developed, and the last stage of capitalism—expands and becomes more voracious, communists maintain, these contradictions sharpen and deepen. The crises which they give rise to become more acute and more para-

lyzing to the capitalist system. The class struggle intensifies and spreads. Imperialist wars develop, and finally, as a consequence of this conflict, the old world of capitalism collapses amid violence and chaos. Out of this turmoil, the new world of communism emerges.

#### **Capitalism Seen as Hopelessly Obsolete**

A major premise of communist propaganda is that the capitalist world is doomed because it is old, outworn, and historically obsolete—a world of exploitation, poverty, fascism, war, confusion, hopelessness, and despair. The capitalist system is pictured as in a state of decline and decay, bereft of hope and salvation. Every measure taken to save capitalism is described as merely a palliative against the system's incurable illness, for nothing can be done to prevent capitalism's early and inevitable demise. Capitalism, said Marx and Engels, produces its own gravediggers.

Communist propaganda has predicted the imminent collapse of the American economy and a concomitant revolutionary crisis ever since the communist movement was launched in the United States in 1919. One American communist writer in January, 1921, prophesied: "On every hand the doom of capitalist society can now be plainly seen. The crash is now not far off. . . . Workers, day by day the capitalist class and its creature, the government, is growing more impotent. Day by day they become less powerful to hinder you in your historic mission. . . ."

Recently, a present-day American communist writer wrote in the same vein concerning the hopelessness of "the obsolete capitalist system. The arrangement of private ownership of industry, in today's world of cooperative labor by millions, is a millstone around our progress. It has become an anachronism. Progressive 200 years ago, it has no more place in today's world than the dinosaur."

#### **Capitalists Resist Change**

Though communists maintain that capitalism contains fundamental contradictions which are leading to its doom, they do not generally believe it is possible to rid the world of capitalism and replace it with socialism without a revolution accompanied by force. Communists explain that capitalists, over a long period of time, have become firmly entrenched and have gained control in

noncommunist countries. It is, therefore, too much to expect the capitalists to surrender quietly and peacefully.

Since the capitalists will not capitulate easily, communists—although they claim not to advocate violence—will be compelled, in the final stage, to overthrow capitalism by force and violence because of the resistance of the capitalists. In substance, communists point out that it is the capitalists who will cause this violence through their resisting as a minority group, the will of the majority, the great masses of people.

While it is admitted in "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism" that a "possibility of a peaceful revolution" does exist, it is further emphasized that "there can be no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship will inevitably take place through an armed class struggle."

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, communists point out, was probably the most bloodless revolution in history. During the brief period when the Provisional Russian Government was overthrown and communists seized power, only a few dozen people were killed on both sides. It was afterwards, communists claim, when the capitalists and landlords unleashed civil war, that the revolution took a violent turn.

#### **Reform Inherent in Democracy**

Communists do not approve of attempts to reform the social structure, although reform is the natural, practical, peaceful method of improving human society. From the time men first banded together to form a social community, reform has been a primary means of improving the organization and function of that social order.

The urge to reform, while not an American monopoly, has served as a favorite and particularly effective method of American democracy. Whether it be motivated by altruism, self-interest, or expediency, reform is looked upon by Americans as a basic and natural means of producing change without discarding that which is good in the existing social order.

Sound reform is essentially gradual. Reform appeals to man's psychological need for a sense of security. That which is known and is familiar provides a solid base from which one may proceed to adapt, modify, or experiment, with the security of home base—the existing order of things—to retreat to should the specific re-

form prove unfeasible or unworkable. This is the American method of reform.

#### Communists Repudiate Reform

Communists hold that efforts to reform the social order merely delay the revolution and with it the destruction of capitalism. They insist that, since the capitalist system must be destroyed, any measures which will insure its demolition must be employed. To them reforms are nothing more than preservers of the *status quo*, and therefore are obstacles to their own long-range aims. They view reformism as temporarily alleviating conditions which reduce the tensions of the class struggle.

Communists from Marx down have despised and deprecated reformism, because they are convinced that it is impossible to eliminate the "evils of capitalism" by mere reform. Hence, "reformism" is a term of communist abuse, implying a "bourgeois" or noncommunist approach.

An illustration of the communist attitude toward reform is the position which the Communist Party, USA, took regarding domestic legislation during the Depression of the 1930's. The Communist Party, while pretending to support many of the reform legislative measures of that period because it was to the Party's propaganda advantage to do so, was critical of the motives which prompted them. The Party maintained that the avowed purpose of this legislation was to preserve and strengthen the capitalist system, and that no steps were taken which could in any way tend to weaken capitalism.

Whereas reformers would keep the present foundation of the social order while eliminating the prevailing abuses, communists would destroy its very foundation and build an entirely new and different social order from the ground up. V. I. Lenin, who developed modern-day communism, warned that "reformism is absolutely irreconcilable with revolutionary Marxism, the duty of which is to take the utmost possible advantage of the revolutionary situation . . . in order openly to preach revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeois governments, the conquest of power by the armed proletariat . . . ."

#### Communist Party Purges Reformists

The communist movement has waged a continuous and vigorous campaign to combat what are considered to be reformist

#### COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

tendencies and influences within its ranks. On a number of occasions, the Communist Party, USA, has purged leaders and members who have countenanced or espoused reform within the framework of the capitalist system and denied the necessity of socialist revolution. Such individuals have been held guilty of what is termed the "illusion" of "American exceptionalism." This "myth," according to communists, avers that American capitalism has certain exceptional features or characteristics which distinguish it from other capitalist countries, thus not making it susceptible to Marxist-Leninist laws which hold that capitalism, due to internal contradictions, will collapse.

Jay Lovestone was ousted from the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, in 1929, on the grounds that he was pursuing a policy of "American exceptionalism." A decade and a half later Lovestone's successor, Earl Browder, who headed the Communist Party, USA, from 1930 to 1945, was charged with committing the same offense. Browder, assuming that the wartime unity and coalition of the United States and the USSR would persist after World War II, advocated communist collaboration with American capitalism.

Browder was taken severely to task by Jacques Duclos, then secretary of the Communist Party of France, in an article published in a French communist journal in April, 1945. Duclos, on orders from Moscow, condemned Browder for his policy of collaboration with capitalism and labeled it "revisionism," "opportunism," and a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. What was needed, Duclos stressed, was a militant attack on capitalism, not cooperation with it. Subsequently, Browder was removed from the leadership of and expelled from the Communist Party.

Shortly after the end of World War II, a prominent Soviet economist named Eugene Varga denied the likelihood of a grave economic crisis in capitalist countries. He was thereupon accused of "bourgeois reformism" in the Soviet press, but later confessed his error, admitting that he had allowed reformist tendencies to manifest themselves in his outlook. He has since predicted economic crisis for capitalism.

In 1960, Alexander Bittelman, a long-time member and leader of the Communist Party, USA, was expelled from the Party for writing a book in which he expressed views which were branded

by the Party as following "the traditional lines of 'American exceptionalism,'" developed earlier by Earl Browder.

#### Communists Advocate Reform as Ruse

Despite the Party attitude toward reform, communists like to create the public image that they are champions of reform. They are continually boasting that they always advocate and strive for reforms which will benefit the masses. They try to convey the impression to noncommunists that they are interested in reforms as such. This, however, is not true. Communists agitate for reforms not as ends but as means to an end, namely, to advance their revolutionary goal of undermining and destroying the capitalist system. Their ostensible concern with improving the social order is simply a communist trap for noncommunists and a device whereby communists hope to promote the acceptance of communism.

Joseph Stalin described in his usual blunt language precisely what reform means to a communist: "The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified."

The same view was voiced in a recent editorial in "Political Affairs," a theoretical American communist magazine: "Our Party . . . while fighting for unity to win all reforms which advance the interests of the masses . . . sees these as opening the way to final liberation in a socialist society." In short, the Communist Party, USA, regards reforms as temporary, transitional adjustments which can be achieved during a period when the Party has not yet attained sufficient strength to risk direct revolutionary action.

#### Communist Tactic of Immediate Demands

A favorite and frequently effective communist tactic is the policy of "partial" or "immediate" demands. These are the short-term or temporary demands which communists advance in order to create favorable conditions for future revolutionary action. The immediate demands which communists promote vary greatly in scope and objective. They may be local, regional, national, and international in range. They may be of interest to

a large majority of the population or only to a limited minority group. They may involve economic, social, political, or cultural issues, and they may vary in significance from a proposal relating to world peace to a demand for improved low-cost housing in a specific slum area.

Each of the immediate demands proposed by the Party may be entirely legitimate—or even popular—in nature, representing the desire for a limited and specific reform within the framework of the capitalist system. Frequently, these demands do not originate with communists at all but in noncommunist segments of the population. Many partial demands are almost perennial planks in the Communist Party's platform—higher wages, shorter hours, lower taxes, etc.

A number of advantages are realized by communists from using tactic of immediate demands. Urging specific reforms in which many noncommunists are legitimately interested helps communists to identify themselves with the masses and to create the symbol that the Communist Party is actually a progressive, enlightened, humanitarian organization acting in the best interests of the American people. At the same time, communists are afforded the opportunity of posing as champions of the poor and the oppressed and as leaders of the working class. The tactic of immediate demands also serves as a convenient disguise behind which the Party can carry on its ceaseless agitation and propaganda against capitalism. More important still, this tactic enables the Party to subtly instill a feeling of "class-consciousness" among workers and to promote a general attitude of unrest and discontent among large sections of the population.

The Communist Party's strenuous campaign for immediate demands is endless. As soon as one set of demands is met, communists immediately propose new and more extravagant demands calculated to provoke new controversy and to act as a new irritant. The substitution of fresh demands for those which have been satisfied or outmoded in one way or another continues in a never-ending cycle with the aim of gradually convincing the masses of the need for a revolutionary transformation of society. Thus, the cumulative goal of the Communist Party's tactic of immediate demands is to condition the entire social climate for eventual revolutionary action against the capitalist system.

### **Capitalism under Constant Attack**

From the time the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in 1917, capitalism has been subjected to a sustained and virulent propaganda attack by international communism. Communist propaganda strives to identify capitalism with imperialism, fascism, war, and the deliberate and systematic exploitation of the poor by the rich, while at the same time it seeks to associate communism in the minds of the poor and the underdeveloped with industrial progress which will guarantee an end to poverty and want. Everywhere, communist propaganda endeavors to give "capitalism" an evil connotation.

Communist propaganda accuses capitalism of regarding profits as primary and human beings as secondary. It charges that American capitalism requires profits to survive and therefore capitalists advocate war for gain. Corporations, which are alleged to rule the United States, are depicted as desiring war so that, through military conquest, they may acquire more economic power and reap bigger profits. Wall Street, the United States Government, and the Pentagon are seen as conspiring to use world crises and the threat of war to make more money for big business.

Communist propaganda attempts to create and foment distrust and discord between management and labor. Big business is accused of using speed-up in factories and increased labor productivity for greater financial gains. Strikes are alleged to arise from the complete lack of concern on the part of industry for the welfare of its workers. Corporations are portrayed as being happy about continuing unemployment for the reason that it keeps labor in its place economically and politically.

Capitalist "bosses" are pictured as greedy, callous, and ruthless. The names of such prominent and well-to-do American families as the Du Ponts, Morgans, and Rockefellers and such large corporations as Chase Manhattan Bank, General Motors, and Standard Oil are used to epitomize "big business," heartless and insensitive to the best interests of the masses and intent only in accumulating more wealth and power. The extensive and creative philanthropies and enlightened social policy often generated by America's wealthiest families and largest corporations are, of course, ignored or distorted by Communist propagandists.

There are few well-known American businessmen, industrialists, and financiers who have not been smeared by communists as "fascists," "reactionaries," "imperialists," and "warmongers." Other choice words, terms, and expressions used by communists to defame their capitalist enemies are: "monopoly capitalists," "wolves of Wall Street," "imperialist slave masters," "tools of Wall Street bankers," "money mad rulers," "profiteers," "powerful monopoly circles," and "Wall Street lackeys."

### **Imperialists Viewed as Perpetuating Colonialism**

"United States imperialist circles," according to communist propaganda, have become the chief bulwark of colonialism throughout the world, and this country's policy toward the underdeveloped nations is not dictated by any humanitarian interest but is aimed at securing potential military bases and markets for its surplus capital. American capitalists are alleged to be exploiting—not aiding—the underdeveloped countries.

Washington's interest in Latin America is said to have nothing to do with helping provide those countries with a more beautiful life, but is motivated solely by a greedy desire to expand United States monopoly capital and investment. The Alliance for Progress is described as actually a plan to keep Latin America subservient to Washington's foreign policy and Wall Street's monopolies.

### **Communists Exploit Economic Crises**

American communists, through their agitation and propaganda, have sought to deepen and exploit periods of economic depression, recession, and inflation in order to hasten capitalism's destruction. They have been alert to magnify and dramatize for their own ends such problems as unemployment, high cost of living, increased taxes, and the like. These issues have furnished grist for communist propaganda directed at such economic target groups as the unemployed, consumers, housewives, and tenants.

The unemployed, hunger, and bonus marches during the Depression of the 1930's illustrate the dangerous ability of communists to mobilize, activate, and exploit huge masses of noncommunists. The marches of this period were of enormous propaganda value to the American communist movement. In these demonstrations, communists tried to prove to American workers that only communists and the Communist Party were genuine

ly concerned with the plight of the unemployed, and were ready, willing, and able to provide the necessary leadership to ameliorate their unfortunate predicament brought about by the failure of the capitalist system.

The great majority of the people involved in these demonstrations were noncommunists and were motivated by their fervent desire to protest against the burdens that unemployment had inflicted on them. But, wittingly or unwittingly, they were easy victims for exploitation by the skilled communist revolutionaries who led them.

#### "Angels" Help Finance Communism

The use of wealth to ruin the system which produced it is a story as old as revolutionary history. Three notable examples were Anacharsis Cloots, Friedrich Engels, and S. T. Morezov. Cloots, a Prussian nobleman, placed part of his fortune at the disposal of the French Republic during the French Revolution. Engels, the son of a rich German textile manufacturer, supported Karl Marx for years. Morezov, a millionaire Russian industrialist, was a secret heavy contributor to Lenin's Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, forerunner of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This process has been duplicated in the United States. During the history of the communist movement in this country, some individuals have made sizable contributions to the Communist Party, to communist front organizations, to communist publications, or to other communist enterprises. These capitalist contributors have been Communist Party members, communist sympathizers, or dupes of moderate or great wealth, a few of whom earned their money themselves but most of whom inherited it. Such "angels" are carefully nurtured and handled in Party circles to guarantee their continued generosity.

The accumulation of great fortunes in the United States has been accompanied by a proliferation of privately owned philanthropies. Thousands of foundations—both large and small—have been established in the last century in the interest of various causes and to carry on specific projects. Such foundations, nonprofit and tax-free, are normally dedicated to idealistic and altruistic objectives and endeavors. Many educational, scientific and social experiments pioneered by risk-taking foundations have revitalized the concept of voluntary private initiative and under-

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girded freedom in the U. S. However, the American communist movement—especially communist front organizations and publications—has been the recipient of funds furnished by a few small foundations. In the 1920's, the communist movement in this country was heavily financed by one foundation. On the other hand, it should be remembered that, in the past ten years, at least a score of foundations have financed responsible, nonpartisan research and education designed to enlarge public understanding of communist ideology, strategy and tactics.

#### Communist Business Ventures

While communism opposes the private ownership of property as a means of production, the Communist Party, USA, has never shown any reluctance to use the capitalist system for the purpose of augmenting its income. In fact, communists have shown themselves adept at operating private businesses for profit. It has been the practice of the Communist Party to designate communists of proven business acumen and ability to establish and operate ostensibly orthodox and legitimate businesses. Funds with which to start these enterprises are furnished by the Party, with profits from such businesses accruing to the Party.

Among the many and diverse business enterprises and ventures owned and operated for the Party in various localities at one time or another are the following: a stationery store, used clothing stores, a leather goods store, machine shops, an engraving plant, a parcel shipping agency, import and export firms, real estate corporations, a laundromat, an electrical appliance store, and an automobile sales agency.

From the early days of the communist movement in this country, the Party has on occasions invaded that citadel of capitalism—Wall Street—and realized profits from speculative ventures and from the purchase and sale of stocks, bonds, and other types of securities. Party "angels" have frequently handled such Party investments.

#### Modern Capitalism Unlike Marx's Analysis

Karl Marx declared over a century ago that capitalism contains within it the seeds of its own destruction. But in the United States particularly, an evolution—not a revolution as he predicted—has occurred within the framework of the capitalist

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system which has contradicted and confounded Marx's prophecy and the communist propaganda line.

American capitalism bears little or no similarity to the capitalism of the 19th century upon which Marx based his theories. When communists describe capitalism, they invariably refer to the system of economic dislocation, misery, and unrest which probably did exist a hundred or more years ago in Europe. But communists choose to completely ignore or minimize the vast and incredible changes that have taken place in the capitalist system in the past century, especially in this country. Capitalism in the United States is a far cry from the days of the so-called "rugged individualists" and "robber barons." American capitalism today is subject to elaborate checks, balances, and controls on the part of the labor movement, the business community, and the government. It is acutely and thoroughly responsive to the will and desires of the people.

Creativeness, viability, and dynamism are the key ingredients in American capitalism. Capitalism has proved itself unmatched in its ability to provide new opportunities and avenues of endeavor, to discover and develop new resources and products, and to speed research and development in a multitude of fields simultaneously. It has shown itself to be a spectacularly effective means of creating, producing, and distributing goods, and has achieved a per capita level far beyond the dreams or expectations of our forebears.

Modern-day American capitalism has been popularly described as "people's capitalism," "progressive capitalism," "enlightened capitalism," and "free enterprise." Raymond W. Miller prefers to call it "cooperative-service capitalism," a system which "participates in producing economic progress through social justice by democratic means."

According to Mr. Miller, present-day American capitalism " . . . has marvelously succeeded in accomplishing everything worthwhile for which Karl Marx pleaded

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"Our North American system of capitalism recognizes the worth and dignity of the individual. It encourages initiative and self-reliance. It embodies ethics—

although some individuals and corporations, of course, still have this to learn.

"It is based on man's love of freedom.

"And, thank goodness, it is practical. It works.

"Our North American system of service capitalism, as a matter of fact, has proved itself to be by far the best economic system ever devised for producing and distributing an abundance of goods and services for the great mass of the people."

## Capitalism Can Win

Communism has succeeded—in many cases and in many places—in equating profits with exploitation and in making capitalism a "dirty" word. Capitalism has neglected or failed to prove to the people of the world that the communist concept of capitalism is completely distorted and without truth. The fact is that capitalism is in a position to boast of dynamic and impressive development over a period of years.

John Gates, one-time editor of "The Daily Worker" and a former top official of the Communist Party, USA, observes that "the United States of America has achieved an economy of abundance for the first time in human history. All previous societies have been economies of scarcity. Marx and Engels . . . thought this could never be attained under capitalism, only in a socialist society."

Capitalism has enjoyed phenomenal success because it is free and competitive and is not shackled by specious ideological concepts, blind dogmas, doctrinaire stupidities, capricious dictatorial controls, and bureaucratic incompetence. Moreover, in the United States, as well as in Canada, Australia, West Germany, Japan, and other countries, the fantastic growth of capitalism has been achieved without the staggering human costs which have accompanied Soviet industrialization. In all these countries, freedom of the individual has proved compatible with both rapidly increased industry and rising living standards, without the need for purges, slave labor, or famines such as have marked Soviet history.

The communist bloc makes much of its substantial industrial growth and development since the end of World War II. But the falsity of communist propaganda, explains Father Bruckberger, the noted French observer, "lies in the fact that Marxism has

had nothing whatever to do with technical and industrial progress. . . . It is not because of Marxism that Russia and China are increasing their industrial power so rapidly and raising their standard of living; it is because they have adopted the industrial methods invented and perfected in the capitalist West. Their present pace of industrialization is possible only because the West explored a virgin territory and blazed the trail."

Capitalism, despite its many good points and noteworthy accomplishments, is far from perfect. It has obvious and admitted faults, deficiencies, and inequities. In today's challenging and rapidly changing world, we must improve the capitalist system and make it work better in order to meet our Nation's growing and pressing needs and responsibilities. We must continue to solve such persistent and acute problems as poverty, unemployment, civil rights, medical care, and education. In doing so, not only will we be fulfilling our promise of a good life for all Americans, but we will, at the same time, remove or lessen those social, economic, political, and psychological factors that foster communist exploitation.

Communists claim that capitalism has no prospect of success in peaceful competition with communism because of the fundamental defects within the capitalist system itself. If capitalism is to win in competition with communism in the years ahead, victory will depend mainly on our willingness and our ability to increase the appeal, the availability, and the benefits of modern American capitalism to the awakened underprivileged and impoverished masses of South America, Africa, and Asia, as well as to the less fortunate people of our own Nation.

## COMMUNISM AND LABOR

### Labor—No. 1 Communist Target

From the time of its founding in September, 1919, the Communist Party in the United States, in accordance with its claim of being the "political party of the working class," has regarded labor as its number one target group. The chief strategic aim of the Communist Party, of course, is to win the majority of the American masses over to communism. Communists maintain that the "historic mission" of the masses to overthrow the capitalist system cannot be accomplished unless they gain the backing of their most important "ally"—the working class.

The main body of American workers is to be found in the trade-unions, and for this reason the American Labor movement is vitally important to communists. The trade-unions are essential to the ultimate victory of communism. This explains why, for 45 years, the Communist Party, USA, has been waging a continuous and unremitting campaign to capture the trade-union movement in the United States.

In its efforts to capture labor, the Communist Party, exploits the misconceptions, prejudices, problems, interests, aspirations, and ideals of workers. Through their campaign of class hatred, communists strive to cultivate and develop discord and distrust between workers and employers. Labor, for instance, is told repeatedly that the big corporations in this country make huge profits at the workers' expense. Communists endeavor constantly to foment and promote class warfare between labor and management.

Communists pose as the "champions" of labor, and, whenever the opportunity arises, they attempt to offer tangible proof of their working-class leadership. The Communist Party makes demands on industry and government, the more frequent ones being job protection, shorter work week, increased wages, additional fringe benefits, higher minimum wages, end of job discrimination, public ownership of industries, and cradle-to-grave security. These demands are tactics, not goals. They are made ostensibly to improve the economic status of workers, but they are actually calculated primarily to promote communism and

to pave the way for the eventual establishment of a communist society.

#### Communist Goal in Labor Unions

"To communists," J. Edgar Hoover points out, "the American labor movement is the primary target for their organizational, political, agitational, and propaganda activities." Communists recognize that labor unions, with their millions of organized workers, are vast reservoirs of potential, dynamic political power which can be harnessed for communist ends. The communist goal in penetrating and capturing trade-unions is to convert them into political organizations and then utilize them as instruments for producing the revolutionary overthrow of the United States Government and the seizure of power. Communists seek the cover of labor organizations and the support of workers solely to carry out their aim of communizing this country.

Communist theory considers labor organizations to be the basic units for waging the never-ending class struggle. Both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels repeatedly referred to trade-unions in their writings as "schools of solidarity, schools of socialism." V. I. Lenin likewise visualized the labor union as "a school of Communism," a preparatory school for the training of the proletariat to realize its dictatorship. He held that the trade-union is an "indispensable organization" of the workers for transferring the control of the government into their hands.

#### Policy of Industrial Concentration

The main feature of communist infiltration into the American labor movement is the communist program of concentrating on basic industries vital to the Nation's economy. The reason for this continuous concentration by communists on workers in important industries is obvious: to obtain a strong foothold in our country's key industries, the first step toward establishing a communist America.

The policy of industrial concentration involves a systematic building and strengthening of Communist Party units, as well as infiltrating and controlling trade-unions, in strategic industries. Special attention is, therefore, given by the Party to concentration work in the big industrial states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and California.

As a part of its industrial concentration policy, the Communist Party in the past has used a program called colonization designed

to place secret Party members in strategic positions in basic industries and defense facilities. The function of "colonizers" is to increase communist influence in industry and labor. Moreover, in the event of a national emergency, colonizers, because of their key positions and covert capacities, would be in a position to commit sabotage of one type or another, if necessary.

#### "Boring from Within"

Communists have never relied on numerical strength alone to gain domination of a labor organization. They rely as much for their success on the assumed apathy and inertia of many union members as they do on the positive force of their own members. Militancy, organizational ability, propaganda, skill, discipline, and hard work are characteristic of communist trade-union leaders and rank-and-file members alike. These ingredients, coupled with the relative indifference and lack of interest of many workers in unions, logically explain the disproportionate influence which has been exerted in the past by the small communist minority in the American labor movement.

In aiming for control of a trade-union, communists make use of the tactic of "boring from within," which was first enunciated by Lenin. In 1920, Lenin instructed communists throughout the world to "bore from within" the labor movement in order to bring noncommunist unions under communist domination. Lenin expressed what might be called the communist credo pertaining to labor unions: "We must . . . resort to various stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges . . . to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs. . . ."

In compliance with Lenin's dictum, communists, where a union already exists, immediately set out to infiltrate it. In a variety of ways, they try to ingratiate themselves with union leaders and members. If an unpleasant task is to be done, communists willingly do it. In this manner, they build up reputations as faithful, tireless union members. Naturally they rarely disclose their membership in the Communist Party.

Once within the union, communists sooner or later begin to test their strength and try to uncover Party sympathizers and fellow travelers. They do this by the process of introducing at union meetings resolutions which express progressively the current communist line. Careful note is made of those voting with

communists; those who consistently follow the Party line may be secretly asked to join the communist unit.

After gaining a foothold in the union, communists seek to worm their way into strategic union posts that will give them sufficient power to influence the membership. The key positions communists aspire to include executive secretary, educational director, legislative representative, business agent, union publication editor, and other staff posts.

Where there is no trade-union, communists, functioning as a unit, begin organizing a union with noncommunist support. The communist origin and sponsorship of the organizational drive, of course, are adroitly concealed from prospective union members. As the establishment of the new union proceeds, communists see to it that their own members occupy top positions in order that they may retain and exercise complete control.

#### Techniques at Meetings and Conventions

Communists in a union have a decided advantage over other union members. Many union members do not pay close attention to union affairs except those relating to wages, hours, working conditions, and fringe benefits, and either stay away from meetings or take no active part in those they do attend. Communists, on the other hand, are often the busiest and most alert members in the union, skilled in organization, parliamentary procedure, propaganda, and deception. The unorganized, unaggressive noncommunist members are often no match for the unified communists, who can readily outmaneuver and outwit them.

At union meetings and conventions, communists operate through caucuses and prearranged decisions. They are well organized and briefed, with their policies, strategies, and duties thoroughly and carefully charted before they enter the meeting and convention hall. The communist unit meets during recesses and at all other available times to decide on tactics to be followed.

Since communists at most union meetings and conventions seldom number more than a small percentage of those present, the problem of exerting maximum parliamentary pressure is solved through the use of a special seating plan. In this seating arrangement, communists are placed in strategic positions throughout the hall so that noncommunists and anticommunists are fairly well surrounded by communists. The function of these communists is to insure concerted action, either of applause or shout-

ing, at a prearranged signal. A relatively few well-placed vociferous communists can create the false impression of constituting a definite majority for or against any proposal.

In advance of the meeting or convention, communists select Party members who are to introduce motions favorable to their cause. Those who are to second the motion are also chosen beforehand. If communists are able to place one of their own as chairman, they are able to effectively silence the opposition. This is accomplished simply by the refusal of the chair to recognize a known noncommunist or anticommunist speaker. With such systematic planning, a motion is easily rushed through an unprepared and disorganized opposition.

Communists are also expert in executing delaying actions to wear out the opposition. When they are not able to outmaneuver their opponents, they try to outlast them. They engage in long-winded and tedious discussions of reports and resolutions so as to prolong the meeting or convention into the early morning hours. Finally, their opponents, through disgust, boredom, or sheer exhaustion, leave for home, with the result that hard-core communists are left with a quorum. Then they quickly introduce procommunist resolutions which are passed in short order with a minimum of debate.

#### Destroying Opposition

Communists attempt to systematically discredit and eliminate anticomunist opposition in unions. Outstanding anticomunists are made the victims of well-organized, cleverly disguised communist smear campaigns. Communist opponents are denounced by such epithets as "Red baiters," "misleaders of labor," or "labor spies." Scandalous rumors are frequently circulated about their private lives.

Communists are also masters in creating and unleashing divisive forces within unions. The tactic of pitting one anticomunist labor leader against another is a favorite communist trick to split an anticomunist majority. Another effective communist weapon is promoting inner-union bickering and quarrels. With the noncommunists divided and bitter, the union is ready prey for communists.

#### Strategy of Strikes

The Communist Party, as an organization of class warfare, finds the strike an extremely useful weapon. The Party foments

strikes and injects itself, wherever possible, into every strike situation as soon as a strike breaks out. Communist interest in strikes is not economic but political. Communists visualize every strike as a chance not to improve the welfare of the workers but to foster class warfare and thereby further the cause of communism.

If the strike is successful, the Communist Party claims that the Party was primarily responsible for arousing and mobilizing the workers. A successful strike is hailed as a "tremendous workers' victory" over the "rule of the capitalists" and the "forces of reaction and fascism." If the strike is a failure, the "capitalist bosses" are blamed, and the defeat is used by the Party to fan anew the flames of class hatred.

Communists maintain that strikes are never lost but that defeat can be turned into victory for the Communist Party if the strike is properly exploited. The communist view is that the more violent a strike becomes, the better for the Party. The death of a striker, for instance, is a great boon, for such an incident enables communists to magnify the class struggle between labor and management.

Strikes provoked by communists usually begin with a seemingly legitimate demand for an increase in wages, reduction in hours, change in working conditions, or additional fringe benefits. Soon, however, the strike is manipulated and escalated by communists into a mass action involving thousands of noncommunist workers.

Whenever and wherever labor difficulties arise, the full attention of the Communist Party is immediately drawn to the disturbed area. Communist organizers, agitators, and propagandists are mobilized quickly during strikes to exploit the class struggle, to pose as champions of the workers, and to strengthen and extend the influence of the Communist Party.

There has been only one brief period in the history of the Communist Party in the United States when communists abandoned their advocacy and use of the strike. This occurred during World War II. After Nazi Germany's attack on the USSR in June, 1941, the Communist Party, USA, abided by a "no-strike" pledge for the duration of the war in order to insure a constant flow of arms and material to the hard-pressed Red Army. It was part of the communist "united front" tactic to win the war and pro-

tect the Soviet Union. With the cessation of hostilities in 1945, however, the Party promptly revoked its "no-strike" pledge and once again reverted to its old militant strike tactics.

#### Communist Efforts To Infiltrate AFL

Initial communist trade-union activity in this country in the early 1920's was devoted principally to attempts of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) to undermine and capture the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The TUEL was the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions, which was a subsidiary of the Communist International, an international communist control organization.

Heavily subsidized with funds from the Soviet Union, the TUEL unleashed an attack on the AFL. Through its "boiling from within" program, the TUEL succeeded in gaining partial control over some unions affiliated with the AFL. Recognizing the communist threat, however, the AFL proceeded to take drastic punitive measures against TUEL adherents within the AFL. Many AFL unions insisted on loyalty pledges; TUEL members were removed from union offices and others were expelled.

The most concentrated communist union effort during this period took place in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), where communists sought to depose John L. Lewis from his leadership of 400,000 coal miners. The Red International of Labor Unions sent subsidies to the TUEL to support special miners' publications, to arrange national conventions of "progressive" miners, to try to bribe mine union officials, and to pay for a host of communist organizers in the mining fields. It has been estimated that the Red International of Labor Unions spent over \$500,000 to destroy Lewis. In the end, however, he managed to survive the communist assault and to retain control of the UMWA.

The lack of communist success in AFL unions caused a change in the communist trade-union program to one of organizing unions controlled and dominated completely by the Communist Party. By 1928, communists had begun establishing their own unions outside the AFL in such industries as mining, steel, automobile, textile, marine, lumber, agriculture, food, and shoe.

But another change in communist tactics in 1935 brought an end to the campaign to organize communist unions. The advent of fascism with its threat to international communism ushered

in the period of the so-called "united front." Communist unions were to be dissolved and, once again, communists in labor unions were ordered to "bore from within."

#### Communist Role in Formation of CIO

In the early 1930's, the AFL, which was organized on a craft basis, faced the problem of organizing millions of unorganized workers employed in the mass-production industries. A strong move toward industrial unionism broke out. A group of affiliated AFL unions under the leadership of John L. Lewis led to the creation, in 1938, of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The story of the part played by communists in the CIO for nearly a decade and a half is a thought-provoking case history of communist infiltration and influence of labor unions. The formation of the CIO presented communists with a golden opportunity to "bore from within." In its initial organizational drives in the mass-production industries, the CIO had urgent need for experienced union organizers and workers. Not only did communists have this experience, but, in many cases, they were conveniently located in the specific industries being organized. As a consequence, communists joined the CIO in substantial numbers.

Communists were well qualified to exercise an important role in the CIO. For years, they had paid major attention to organizing the basic industries. In their work, they had accumulated vast and varied practical experience, as well as extensive and valuable contacts among workers. Communists were experts in every phase of organization, agitation, and propaganda. They were extremely competent and versatile in manipulating parliamentary procedure; making speeches; publishing newspapers, magazines, shop papers, pamphlets, and leaflets; fomenting and conducting strikes; establishing picket lines; and organizing demonstrations.

No job was too small or too large for communists. They were in the thick of the organization battles in automobile plants, in steel mills, and in rubber factories. The trade-union lessons they had learned so well in the past, they applied effectively to the organization of the CIO. With industry and singleness of purpose, they contrived to infiltrate and entrench themselves in posts of

authority and influence in the CIO, ranging from national union officers to shop stewards.

Communists in key CIO posts exerted considerable influence over CIO policy within the jurisdiction of their individual offices. In addition, they were instrumental in placing some communists and communist sympathizers in national CIO headquarters and in affiliated unions. In such vantage positions, communists made their impact felt and tried to use the CIO in every way possible to render aid to the cause of communism.

#### Communism Gains Strength in CIO

As communists gathered strength in the CIO, they became more determined in their efforts to follow the Communist Party line. The economic and social interests of the membership of the communist-influenced unions were ignored or subordinated. All the resources and influence of those unions were marshalled to support the rapidly shifting policies adopted by the Communist Party before, during, and after World War II.

Prior to 1939, the international communist movement pushed hard to build a "united front" in an effort to stem the rising tide of fascism. It was easy for American communist unionists during this period to maneuver some CIO unions into a position to serve as a sounding board for communist propaganda.

In August, 1939, the foreign policy of the USSR changed abruptly when Soviet leaders signed a nonaggression pact with the Nazis. Immediately, the Communist Party, USA, commenced to denounce the defense program of the United States as a program fostered by Wall Street. The Selective Service Act was labeled an instrument by which rich industrialists intended to impose a dictatorship upon this country. Communist-influenced unions in the CIO quickly fell into line and joined in defending the Soviet Union's action. Fascism was forgotten as strict neutrality was demanded. American foreign policy was repeatedly and violently attacked.

#### Communist Labor Tactics in World War II

By the outbreak of World War II, communists had become so strategically placed and so firmly entrenched in certain CIO unions that Party policy could be immediately transformed into mass action by communist union representatives. To implement their new isolationist policies, communists set the stage for an

epidemic of strikes in American industries designed to hinder this country's defense efforts.

During the history of the American communist movement, communists have instigated, led, or participated in thousands of strikes, large and small. But none have sabotaged American defense preparations and production so effectively as those strikes called for by communist-influenced trade-unions during the period from the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact of August, 1939, until the German invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941. The aim was to cripple our defense measures so that this country would be unprepared or inadequately prepared to take part in the war so long as Germany and the Soviet Union were allies.

A wave of strikes hit American defense industries during this period. One of the most widely publicized strikes occurred at the North American Aviation Corporation in Inglewood, California, early in June, 1941. This firm had a backlog of \$200,000,000 worth of aircraft contracts for the United States and Great Britain. Company officials refused the contract demands of the CIO union which represented the employees. An unauthorized strike was called on June 5 by west coast union officials and rank-and-file negotiators, many of whom had communist affiliations. National CIO leaders immediately suspended the west coast union officials from the union. Despite this action, a riot took place at the plant on June 9. Only when President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the Army to seize the struck plant did violence cease and the employees return to work.

The majority of the members of the union involved in the North American Aviation strike and in other strikes of that period were not communists. Basically, they were loyal Americans who had no intention of injuring their country. But the fact is that, at a time of great danger to this Nation, enormous harm was done to our defense effort. These strikes were communist influenced and served the interests of the Soviet Union.

With Germany's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, communist-influenced unions immediately changed their tactics in keeping with the sudden shift of the Communist Party line. Whereas heretofore the Party had condemned the "no strike" pledge adopted by the majority of the leaders of the AFL, CIO, and railroad brotherhoods, it now completely reversed itself by asserting that all labor disputes must be solved without interrupt-

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tion to production. Communist-influenced unions also began to clamor for all-out aid to the USSR. After Pearl Harbor, they echoed the insistent pleas of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA, for the immediate opening of a second front in Europe by American and British military forces.

The common desire by both communists and noncommunists in the United States to win the war resulted in an era of comparative harmony in the trade-unions during the remaining years of the war. In their eagerness to champion every measure that would contribute to the ability of the United States to render assistance to the USSR, communists adopted the battle cry "Everything for National Unity!"

#### Hard Line Reaffirmed

The end of World War II and the beginning of the "cold war" between the United States and the USSR saw American communists discard the unity theme. As the breach between this country and the Soviet Union widened, the Communist Party, USA, increasingly and more blatantly denounced United States foreign policy.

Communist-influenced trade-unions pushed the postwar program of the Communist Party with an ardor that left little doubt—if there had been any before—as to their communist penetration. While one union publication was minimizing charges of Soviet espionage in Canada and denouncing as "villainous" the claim that the Polish Government was Soviet dominated, another would be alleging that the United States was striving to "rule the world." While the executive board of one communist-influenced union was deriding the Marshall Plan as nothing more than a "monstrous plot against freedom and living standards," communist leaders in another union were representing Russia as a land of peace, progress, and plenty.

#### CIO Cleans House

Many officials and rank-and-file members of the CIO had long been aware that communists had secured and exerted undue strength and influence within the CIO. As time went by, it became more and more evident that communists in the CIO were less interested in legitimate union activities and the welfare of the workers than in advancing the Communist Party line. Their persistent espousal of the USSR in international affairs became increasingly repugnant to the CIO leadership and membership.

The shift in Soviet foreign policy from one of apparent unity and collaboration to one of unrestrained virulent anti-Americanism stirred the anticommunist forces in the CIO into action. In late 1946, one state CIO body approved a resolution condemning communism as "alien" to the American people. During 1947 and 1948, the national CIO took steps to remove communists from its top posts.

Still another manifestation of the growing anticommunism of the CIO leadership was the decision of the CIO executive board, early in 1949, to formally disaffiliate the CIO from the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). The WFTU had been established late in 1945 as the result of cooperative efforts of the Soviet trade-unions, the British Trades Union Congress, and the CIO. The CIO charged that the WFTU was functioning for communist political and propaganda purposes rather than for legitimate trade-union action.

In the mounting clamor to stamp out communist elements within its ranks, the CIO soon found itself a target for communist abuse and vituperation. The Communist Party berated the CIO as a "tool of reaction and imperialism." Communist-led unions hurled vitriolic accusations at the parent organization, but their wild charges only served to swell the wave of anticommunist indignation.

By the time the national convention of the CIO met in the Fall of 1949, CIO leaders were prepared to take drastic action against affiliated communist-dominated unions. The convention adopted a constitutional amendment barring from office in the national CIO any individual who was a member of the Communist Party or who consistently pursued the Party's policies and activities. Other constitutional changes empowered the CIO executive board to remove, or refuse to seat, offending officers and to revoke the charters of affiliates found guilty of following policies or engaging in activities prohibited by the CIO's noncommunist amendment.

#### CIO Expels Communist-Dominated Unions

During 1949-1950, the CIO expelled a total of eleven affiliated unions which it found guilty of espousing communist policies. These unions were the American Communications Association; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America; International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America;

International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America; Public Workers of America. The expulsion of these unions served to block efforts of communists to turn the American labor movement into a powerful and effective force to further communism.

Of the eleven unions expelled by the CIO on charges of communist domination, four remain today as independent unions. These are the American Communications Association; the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. These four unions exert influence in the communications and electrical industries, in copper and zinc mining, and over Pacific coast and Hawaiian shipping.

It must be emphasized, however, that the great majority of the members of these four unions have not been communists. Because these unions have been recognized as bargaining agents, employees had to join them if they wished to work. But the record of past events indicates that noncommunist union members do not always realize the degree to which certain actions on their part can endanger the security of this country. They can and have been tricked by communist labor leaders into inflicting serious damage to the Nation's security.

#### Communist Efforts To Regain Influence in Labor

Ever since the CIO purged itself of its communist-influenced affiliates, communists have marked time, waiting for new opportunities to again penetrate and influence the American labor movement. Individually, the unions which were ousted from the CIO retain a potential for communist exploitation.

At the height of the Korean War, for example, the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, one of the unions expelled from the CIO as communist dominated, engaged in a strike in the copper industry. The strike affected 100,000 workers and shut down virtually all of the Nation's copper pro-

duction at a time when copper, a strategic material vital to our war effort, was in short supply. There had been a serious copper shortage before the strike. The strike aggravated the situation to such an extent that President Truman invoked the national emergency provision of the Taft-Hartley Act to end the strike on the ground that it was exposing the United States to grave danger.

The current communist trade-union policy continues to embody Lenin's familiar and effective tactic of "boiling from within." Party members have been instructed to become members of the union in their particular field of work, agitate for and propagate communist demands, and endeavor to enroll "progressive-minded" union members into the ranks of the Communist Party.

#### Extent of Communist Influence in Labor

There is no way, of course, to accurately measure the precise amount of influence that communist-infiltrated and communist-influenced labor organizations have exerted in the United States during the history of the Communist Party, USA. But it can be stated factually that their impact on the life and times of our Nation was for a period substantially and socially significant.

It is a fact that the advantageous position in which communists found themselves when the CIO was organized enabled them to make serious inroads into the CIO. They managed to obtain positions of trust, responsibility, and authority in a number of CIO unions. As a result they were in an effective position, for almost a decade and a half, to try to use CIO unions as key agencies for communist activity, agitation, and propaganda.

Today, communists and the Communist Party are held in justifiably low repute by the American labor movement. Labor leaders and rank-and-file members have long recognized and realized that communists seek and work only to subvert and exploit trade-unions to promote the cause of communism. Constitutional provisions bar communists from membership or from holding office in many unions.

A revolutionary trade-union movement is essential to the success of communism in a noncommunist industrial country. A communist party which is not firmly rooted in the labor movement is thereby deprived of its greatest strength and influence. Even though communist influence in the American trade-union

movement is now at its lowest ebb in years, the fact remains that some communists have embedded themselves so deeply into various strategic sectors of labor as to prevent their complete eradication. The memories of the power and influence they enjoyed in American labor in the past only serve to inspire and stimulate communists in their efforts to recapture their former glory. In the years to come, labor must constantly be on guard against any communist resurgence within its ranks, and it is fully expected labor will.

#### Contrast in Labor Unions

There are enormous differences between trade-unions in a free and open society such as ours and labor unions in communist countries. In the United States, trade-unions are independent and self-governing organizations, free of control or influence by the government or by management. Their function is to improve wages, hours, working conditions, and benefits for their members, and they have the power to negotiate with management concerning these matters. In communist nations, however, labor unions exist only to serve the state. Their function is to increase production and to insure labor discipline. The state itself establishes wages, hours, and working conditions.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, recognizes the value of a free labor movement to a free society:

"Where there is no democracy, there can be no free trade union movement. Where there is no free trade union movement, the democratic way of life cannot live—let alone thrive. And without freedom, peace and social justice are in constant peril."

## COMMUNISM AND FREEDOM

### Revolutionary Era

We are living in an unprecedented period in history. Ours is a world of profound and rapid changes. We are in the vortex of a series of simultaneous and far-reaching revolutions. These revolutions—in science, technology, and industry—are daily transforming the environment in which we live and are unlocking the secrets of the universe.

Yet history teaches us that every invention and discovery by man contains both creative and destructive capabilities. Since man learned to control nuclear energy, for example, history has been holding its figurative breath, awaiting the outcome of the awesome alternatives. Will man use this virtually unlimited source of energy to create a new and better world, or will he unleash this frightening power to destroy the world and civilization itself?

These vast and incredible scientific and technological advances have galvanized the energies, imagination, and hopes of millions of people all over the world formerly faced with a life of poverty, disease, misery, ignorance, and isolation. Acutely aware of the benefits which modern industrial civilization can provide, these millions are seeking—and frequently demanding—political freedom, economic prosperity, and social improvement. And they are impatient: they want these benefits now, not in the indefinite future.

These urgent demands for freedom, prosperity, and social justice would be sweeping much of the world even if Karl Marx had never lived. It was the American Revolution which charted the course for succeeding independence movements, fulfilling Thomas Jefferson's prediction that it was "intended for all mankind." Since 1776, our Revolution has inspired those who truly seek liberty and its concomitant values, because the American Revolution created not only a Nation, but also a way of life which guarantees individual freedom, personal dignity, and economic opportunity. It is for this reason that, with few exceptions, the leaders of the emerging nations look to Lincoln, not to Lenin.

### Communist Exploitation

Communism claims to be in harmony with the revolutionary trends of our era. Its adherents are actively exploiting the revolutionary ferment which is enveloping the world. They use any and every means in an attempt to convince the emerging nations that communism will solve all their problems. The Soviet Union is glorified as the symbol of rapid industrialization, and Soviet achievements in space technology are hailed as overwhelming evidence of the superiority of communist society.

Communists are devoting so much of their time and efforts to the new nations because they realize that the organized communist conspiracy is ideally suited to the capture of unstable, transitional governments which are especially vulnerable to subversion and guerrilla warfare. Communists know well that, once these countries have attained any measure of political, economic, and social stability, the opportunities for a communist take-over will diminish.

In conjunction with the tactics employed by world communism in the underdeveloped nations, the United States is branded as an "imperialist" nation which is attempting to impose its political, economic, and military domination on the rest of the world. At the same time, communism is portrayed not only as the inevitable "wave of the future," but also as the only answer to all the difficulties which beset the modern world.

While communists explore every avenue for exploiting conditions in the underdeveloped countries, this has not resulted in any relaxation of their activities in the highly industrialized countries. In the United States, for instance, the Communist Party, USA, is engaged in a continuous campaign of subversion designed to weaken our Nation from within. Communist propaganda continually strives to instigate political, economic, and social unrest in an effort to divide, confuse, and undermine non-communist opposition.

### American Experience

We are much better qualified than communists to participate in the revolutionary process. The example of the American Revolution is far more pertinent to the issues of today and to the hopes of tomorrow than the Bolshevik Revolution. In many respects, our Declaration of Independence is a more explosive revolu-

tionary proclamation than the Communist Manifesto. As a Nation, we have always welcomed change. America is a dynamic idea. We have never been wedded to the *status quo*.

We must, however, distinguish between principles and procedures. Principles are developed out of long human experiences. Ours have been developed over the centuries from Greek philosophy, Roman and English law, Judaean-Christian ethics, and Western science. These principles are our guidelines. They are enduring and will change only when we abandon the values by which we live.

Nevertheless, policies and procedures must frequently be revised to meet changing times and conditions. Techniques and processes often become unsuitable and obsolete. As Lincoln observed: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

Thus, new patterns of action are necessary to insure the continued revitalization of basic principles. Only through fresh methods of implementation can we continuously give substance to fundamental values. The key to the success of America is the fact that our Revolution is a permanent revolution. It has created and continues to create an environment conducive to the preservation of basic values by guaranteeing the freedom to modify and adapt programs of action designed to meet the conditions of a developing and changing world.

### American Attitude

Traditionally, we Americans have asked only that we be left alone to pursue peacefully our freely chosen goals. The great American Experiment, as it has been described, has provided the framework wherein we could exercise those "unalienable rights" to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Whenever an aggressor threatened, as in two World Wars, we dropped our plowshares, took up the sword, and dealt swiftly and effectively with the crisis. Then, having achieved at least a military settlement of the issue, we promptly resumed our peacetime pursuits. In other words, when the threat was clearly identifiable, we confidently rose to meet it; and then, having disposed of it, we returned to business as usual.

This attitude and the resultant simple, direct approach have been peculiarly American traits of character. In years past, because of the nature of the dangers we faced, they served us well. But today, in the conflict between freedom and communism, they must be supplemented by a new awareness and a continuing concern. We are engaged in a different kind of a struggle—a long-range fight with communist totalitarianism—and we must gear not only our attitudes but also our patterns of action to a long-term conflict.

#### Emotion or Reason?

We may win a battle against communism today or tomorrow, but this does not mean that we have won the war. We may become excited and emotional about communist advances and we may feel frustrated and be "all fired up" for action, but how long can we sustain a purely emotional campaign against a dedicated, calculating world conspiracy? Emotions are notably short-lived, notoriously irrational, and woefully erratic. We cannot depend on them for the sustained, intelligent effort that is demanded of us if we are to meet and to defeat the communist challenge.

No successful businessman can run his company solely by emotion. If he did, he would not stay in business long. Instead, he applies his intelligence and ingenuity to his business operations. Through the application of rational thought and hard-headed realism, he properly manages his interests. Moreover, he applies these sound principles constantly and with consistency over the years. So it must be with the effective counteraction of the long-range communist threat.

#### Businessman a Communist Target

In his new role as an object of communist affection, the American businessman has been thrust directly into the conflict between freedom and communism. For years, communists scorned him and heaped propaganda abuse upon him as a "warmongering, capitalist exploiter." Now, while they have not abandoned such invective, they are shrewdly courting him. Why has there been this recent change in the communist attitude toward the American businessman?

There are several reasons for the shift in the communist attitude, but the most important is that the American businessman operates in and is directly concerned with vital areas of American

society, such as our economy, industrial development, national defense, scientific breakthroughs, technical processes, and domestic and foreign policies.

#### Industrialization Is Power

Communists know, as all of us do, that the modern industrial society is the tangible symbol of power in today's world. For years, at a tremendous sacrifice in human life and values, communists have been developing the Soviet Union and, more recently, Red China, as industrial powers. It was Joseph Stalin who ruthlessly undertook the rapid industrialization of the Soviet Union along the lines of Western industrial development and laid the foundation for communist industrial growth. Now, from the confidence of its position as the second-ranking industrial power in the world, the USSR, through its world-wide network of agents, is reaching out to acquire, by legal and illegal means and by overt and covert methods, the vital industrial and scientific data of the first-ranking industrial power, the United States.

#### Industrial Intelligence

Communist intelligence agents are insatiable in their accumulation of information regarding American industrial, scientific, and technological data which will strengthen communist-bloc nations. There is literally no aspect of our industrial life which they are not seeking to penetrate. A mere listing of the material they seek would comprise a veritable multivolumed catalogue of American "know-how." Money is no object to them in their search for information.

In this mammoth intelligence-gathering operation, the American businessman is a priority target. Opportunities are sought for contact with him under the guise of both business and social situations. These contacts are carefully evaluated for their potential for subsequent development as a valuable source of information, if not as an eventual member of a spy ring. Initial contacts with businessmen are developed from letters to firms and individuals requesting innocuous information, from attendance at industrial and trade exhibits, from meetings at social affairs and, in short, from any situation which permits them to exploit the natural friendliness and gregariousness of Americans.

### Exploiting Our Freedoms

Many of the activities of communist agents are entirely legal. Free access to and exchange of information are among the fundamental rights in our society which distinguish us from the communist society which must maintain an iron curtain. We have always stood for and defended the principle that as much information as possible, consistent with national security, should be made available to our citizens.

Government and industry, rightly implementing this principle, regularly issue a tremendous volume of scientific and technical data relative to manufacturing techniques and industrial processes. Our free press prints, as a matter of course, numerous articles dealing with space technology, nuclear energy, improved industrial techniques, and new scientific discoveries and their practical applications. Communists quite obviously take advantage of these freedoms which we enjoy and which they have abrogated wherever they have seized power. But this cannot cause us to forsake our commitment to these precious freedoms.

The overt collection of intelligence information is, of course, valuable in and of itself to communists, but they also regard it as an important avenue to their paramount goal—the procurement of classified material. From the development of seemingly innocuous business and social contacts, communist agents attempt to move into outright espionage.

### Political Influence

In any free society which is highly industrialized, businessmen play a vital role. Communists know this and, consequently, they continually seek political influence within the American business community. The Communist Party, USA, for example, continually hammers at the propaganda line that American industry should be diverted from national defense so that Government defense expenditures could be used, instead, to institute broad programs of social welfare, and that trade between the communist bloc and the United States should be increased.

These specific propaganda themes are part of the over-all Soviet campaign of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. Because the business community is important in American life from the local level to the highest circles of Government, communists seek to influence American businessmen over the heads

of their Government leaders and attempt to mold opinion more favorable to communist designs.

### Areas of Actions

No realistic approach toward combatting communism can be achieved until reasonably specific areas of action are delineated. These areas are primarily those of Government and of individual action. If experience in dealing with communism has taught us anything, it is that there are certain types of communist activity which can be countered effectively only by the employment of highly trained, professional intelligence services. For the most part, communist intelligence, espionage, and underground operations, as well as some aspects of Communist Party activities, are conducted by professionals. To deal effectively with these communist operations, we must resort to professionals of our own—trained investigators and experienced counterintelligence personnel. Today, counterintelligence activities stress skills and training which depend upon complex scientific aids. This is no area for amateur anticommunists. Rather, it is the province of experts.

### Individual Action

In the area of individual action, which, of course, includes group action by individuals through various organizations, there are both direct and indirect means of effectively countering communism. In the direct sense, it is the duty of every citizen to be intelligently and fully informed concerning the nature, objectives, and threat of communism. This knowledge will not only enable him to withstand the specious attractions of communism, but also insure that, as an alert and understanding citizen, he will be better equipped to devise and support effective Government countermeasures against communism.

Thus, education has a vital role in assuring freedom's victory over communism. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., President of the American Bar Association, states that "in a democracy, the people as well as the leaders must possess the requisite knowledge and understanding." This means, of course, not merely knowledge of the Communist movement nor, indeed, merely knowledge of our own system of freedom under law. The great, overriding need of our perilous time is for that breadth of knowledge and wisdom which is obtainable only by free men with free institutions."

The need for wisdom to which Mr. Powell refers highlights the vital role which religion can occupy in the struggle for freedom. Especially encouraging is the current dialogue developing between Protestant, Catholic and Jewish scholars, along with their condemnation of intolerance, discrimination and prejudice in all forms. This is an example of the growing unity of spirit of which religious leaders are capable and which they have a responsibility to promote because of the very nature of their common convictions about God and the spiritual values which alone can make moral living effective.

With educational and religious guidelines the American businessman will be better able to avoid the pitfalls of entrapment which sometimes are set up for him by communist agents intent on exploiting him as a source. Some businessmen, for instance, here in our own country or traveling abroad, have unwittingly placed themselves in compromising personal situations and have been blackmailed by communist agents seeking their cooperation in intelligence operations. An awareness of communist methods will make businessmen continually conscious that communists are always looking for personal weaknesses which may be exploited.

Alertness to communism also entails a direct responsibility when information pertaining to communism is uncovered. Every citizen should report facts regarding communism to the FBI. Moreover, he should leave the checking of this material to trained investigators. Private inquiries and vigilante activities can interfere with—and even jeopardize—important investigations already in progress. The circulation of rumors and conclusions based on what may be incomplete or even inaccurate information can cause serious injustice to those who may be actually innocent.

#### **Direct Action**

Many individuals, groups, and organizations in the business community have taken effective, direct action in the field of countering communism. For instance, the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism, under the capable chairmanship of Morris I. Leibman, is in the forefront of the educational offensive against communism. This committee encourages and supports education on the contrast between law and tyranny and between freedom and communism, and promotes and backs programs of education in communist tactics, strategy, and objectives.

Other typical examples of direct action include the establishment of informative courses on freedom versus communism for employees, the maintenance of lending libraries in factories which encourage employees to read books and other literature highlighting the contrasts between freedom and communism, and the display of motion pictures and colorful exhibits in plants and office buildings which depict dramatically the fundamental differences between our free society and totalitarian communism.

In addition, many companies publish, on a regular basis, articles and features in company publications which deal with world affairs and the impact of communism upon our lives. Making factual information of this nature available to both management and employees is a direct and worth-while contribution toward providing them with the basic knowledge they must possess as responsible citizens if they are to meet the danger of communism.

There are still unlimited opportunities for the business community to participate directly in the struggle against communism. Many business leaders and companies, for instance, can render active support to the efforts of educators in their communities who are undertaking factual courses of study regarding communism in our schools. Moreover, businessmen can frequently underwrite the establishment of reference libraries and the appearances of guest lecturers. Many business firms, in the course of their regular mailings of advertising matter, can include attractively styled reprints of short, factual articles and especially significant newspaper editorials on communism.

Corporations with interests abroad are in a particularly good position to give direct assistance to businessmen in other countries who are fighting the inroads of communism. In some underdeveloped areas of the world, where the high rate of illiteracy renders publications ineffective, the distribution of simple, inexpensive radios, capable of receiving factual broadcasts to counteract communist propaganda, could be extremely effective. Moreover, American firms with foreign connections can frequently supplement the work of official United States Government agencies in distributing factual information regarding our country for those who may be receiving a distorted picture through communist propaganda.

Thus, the direct opportunities for combatting communism are limited only by the imagination, the resourcefulness, and the per-

sonal sacrifice which may be involved. And the enterprising and successful American businessman has rarely been found lacking in any of these attributes.

#### Fortifying Our Own Society

Direct action against communism is absolutely essential, but it is also necessary to work diligently against communism in what seemingly is a less direct way—by strengthening our own society. This is so because communism attacks us with a “one-two punch.” The first tactical thrust from communism is primarily a negative one, because it attempts to undermine and to subvert all noncommunist societies by creating a deep-seated discontent with existing conditions. This is important as a means of destroying the confidence of the people in their social order, their economic system, and their government and its leaders. Then, communists follow through with a positive thrust. They hold forth what they hope will be a tempting offer to join forces with them in creating a world in which, they claim, the exploitation of man by his fellow man will be forever abolished.

Communists are constantly probing for weak spots in our society so that they can capitalize on them. That is why we must always be vitally concerned with the task of eradicating or improving those political, economic, and social conditions which communists exploit to gain support for their cause. Therefore, such current and continuing problems as poverty, limited economic growth, unemployment, discrimination in all its forms, corruption and immorality in public and private life, organized crime, lack of educational opportunities and medical care are inextricably bound up in the conflict between freedom and communism. What we do to eliminate or alleviate these problems will be a positive and an effective—though seemingly indirect—way of thwarting communist efforts to exploit them and, in the process, making our own society even stronger.

Economic strength and vitality are essential to our national security. The development and success of our economy will, during the years ahead, play a decisive role in maintaining the stability of our political, sociological, and educational institutions. Moreover, since the United States is the principal deterrent to further communist expansion, a sound and growing economy is also fundamental to the security of the free world.

To many of the people in the underdeveloped nations of the world, capitalism means only foreign control and exploitation of their economy. We must dispel this false image by demonstrating to these people that our present-day system is far different from the capitalism they may have known and that, in the eyes of the American people, any type of colonial exploitation is reprehensible and morally wrong.

The American businessman has a high personal stake in the success and preservation of our capitalist system. Businessmen are understandably absorbed in their own immediate interests. However, there is need for businessmen to broaden their vision. Many factors, while they may not appear directly related to the businessman's daily affairs, are essential in improving and safeguarding not only our capitalist system, but also our entire American way of life.

#### Ultimate Responsibility

For over a decade and a half, we have lived in the tension-packed atmosphere of the cold war—a climate characterized by alternate periods of calm and storm, but constantly under the cloud of nuclear annihilation. The future will bring additional problems and dangers which will prove similarly perplexing and harrowing. In this revolutionary era of history, we cannot expect it to be otherwise.

We must continue to be alert and to be prepared for further difficulties and confrontations with communism. We must comprehend the totality and the significance of the conflict between freedom and communism, and realize that the outcome will decide what principles and values will determine—perhaps for centuries—the future course of mankind.

We cannot assume that our institutions and values will, in and of themselves, prevail. Unlike communism, freedom cannot be imposed. It must always be sought—and frequently fought for. When considered in the perspective of history, *freedom is the exception*, not the rule. For most of mankind, individual liberty is a recent innovation.

To emerge the victor in the struggle now raging, asserts J. Edgar Hoover, “we must revitalize our proven values of the past and merge them with the opportunities of the present. Then we will have more than enough determination and moral strength to meet and defeat the challenge of communism while moving ahead on the basis of our own freely chosen values.”

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